

445 consumption, all of which are stored in the spacious
 451 jars.¹

342 At Seliমানieh, the Ktchik capital, the better
 sort of houses are square, one-storied buildings, stand-
 ing on a basement about three feet high, and built
 348 of sun-dried bricks with a plastering of mud mixed
 with chopped straw. The interiors of the principal
 rooms are lime-washed, and the flat roofs are formed
 of rafters covered with reeds and a coating of earth.

351 Round the house is a walled enclosure, divided into
 two courts by a cross-wall, which joins the house at
 each end near its centre, leaving the front, which is
 the *selamlik*, in one court, and the back, the *kardalik*,
 in the other. The gardens consist in great part of

347 turfy lawns shaded by willows, poplars, and mal-
 351 berry trees, which, with rose-bushes, are disposed in
 little clumps, and watered by a stream which has its
 source in the mountains. The chief apartment is

353 the *talar*, a room quite open to the air in front, and
 used in warm weather as a general sitting and sleep-
 ing room by the family. Only the poorest persons

354 sleep on the roofs of their houses. Some, in the

355 greatest heats, which last only a month, sleep in
 357 *trikardaks*, or bowers, over the tanks in the courts,
 or in tents, to escape from the heat, which are said
 to be even more formidable here than in the rest of

353 Turkey. In the *selamlik* is also a large spacious
 hall, dimly lighted, and used as a cool retreat in
 summer. The winter rooms are approached by a
 long, dark passage.

¹ Knapton, in his *Travels*, or *Journal of the Sea Voyage*, mentions
 that the Karlovi kept their wine in wooden casks, &c. &c. chap. 2.

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and highland meadows. Water is abundant and swift per-
ennial streams from icy springs cut the landscape. Many
of the mountains are capped with snow throughout the year,
and the plains around Sulaymaniya constitute one of the most
fertile areas in Iraq. The region has suffered extensive
deforestation, but poplar and willow abound along the water-
courses and a few stands of heavier timber, such as oak,
may yet be found in the uplands. The rivers and streams
offer fish, and bear, ibex, snow leopards, and wolves are
still to be encountered on the mountainsides. Even at the
highest elevations, the area is blasted by the sun in
summer, scorching the vegetation, but to a lesser extent
than in the plains to the south. With the winter seasons
of rain and snow, many of the passes are blocked for several
months. The temperatures in either summer or winter, how-
ever, are not extreme. In spring the meadows are filled
with brightly-colored flowers, particularly the poppy, but
their life is short before the onset of the summer heat.

The Kurdish town of Rowanduz is to be found in the
mountains fifty miles northwest of Erbil. In older days
Rowanduz was directly on the trade route between Erbil and
Irbil, but the recent construction of an automobile highway
by the British has removed it from the main stream of what
remains of this traffic.¹ The exact antiquity of the town
is uncertain, but it first achieved prominence as the head-
quarters of Bar Basha, a chieftain who gained temporary

¹Documented in Hamilton, 1937.

Demonstration of four separate female environments in the material investigated

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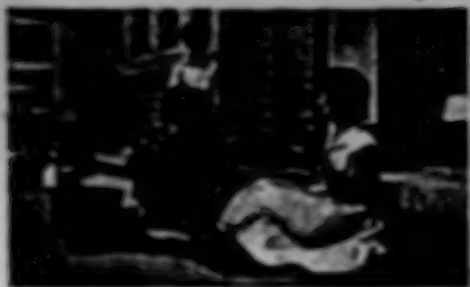


Fig. 4. Uneducated, traditional married woman and educated girl sitting on in the courtyard. Selkman.

The Karleish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Karleish women". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

The village milieu can be socially divided into two areas, the extraordinary and the peasant. To the former belong the shield houses in Tapawa, Shalela, Sargala and Serkan. I visited peasant houses in Tapawa, Sikawa, Mfara Kutan and Bakiha. The police official's house I dwell in at the very core of Mfara Kutan was in between the two.

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Livra capital, Selkman, but also in Karkak, Hahaga, Tawala and Karaman. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the house of my informant, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughter had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

The part of Karleish I visited (Southern Karleish) is mountainous and lies in the northern subtropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, arid summer from May to October. As an example I experienced a violent shower on June 26 (1957). The village lies on the side of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the uneducated house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communication consists of numerous trails helped by cords and hanging-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out water-courses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs

Cooking

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The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children are present, it is for the headmost of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony.

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B5H

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of milk and clay, sheets of bread folded into cornets to be used as spoons when eating the milk²⁵², and, rarely, fried eggs, kifta, swimming in butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too great, about 104 F.

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The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *bulgur*, rice, steamed in butter²⁵², with which is served one or two kinds of tomato thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or beef. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spiced on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder²⁵², is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or steamed better.

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In regard to meat dishes there is *kifta*—not the Turkish kind²⁵² consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *Adajut*²⁵² or Indian' fingers, and *Adajut* or eggplant²⁵² plus gherkins, brinjals, lentils, mushrooms, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas²⁵² are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten thinly-sliced in milk at the morning meal and also alone as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

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Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Tuzkawa, Sahimani and Balika is vine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a samovar with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water²⁵². Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish accompanied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I was given a table, but this was an exception. In the same bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about 0.225-0.340 m. long (H. 2286, 67, 69), for boiling 'sauce' over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of food are served they are placed

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on a sheet of bread and gawwed. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from saucer bowls²⁶, but forks and knives were not used²⁷. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as food. The beverage drunk is *malaw* or the less-distinguished *diy*. These are drunk from glasses if not drunk with a hilde from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal. Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

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Fetching of water. Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds: clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2259), home-manufactured and slightly burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, *kand*, made out of whole, tanned sheep or goat skins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn stack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

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Fuel supply. Fuel is scarce and is utilized extremely effectively. In the cookhouse, both the clay-hood sunken earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits²⁸. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses²⁹. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the low, flat ember pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

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Heating. During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temperatures of up to 50°C (122°F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a lean-to. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay³⁰ states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (or does not, as the case may be) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Sene³¹ refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a stool under a quilt ... formed the 'kirsu' which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Mikline³² writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place au-dessus de foyer un tabouret (*koursi*), on le recouvre d'une couverture³³ et tout le monde se couche dessous ...".

THE KURDS OF IRAQ

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majority of the population are Khanaqin, Kifri, Koi Sanjaq, Ruwandiz, 162
Aqra, Amadiya, Dohuk and Zakho. Kirkuk city is very mixed but con- 103
tains a large Kurdish element. The professional and intellectual classes, as 565
well as the larger land-owners, tend, as would be expected, to collect in 162
the towns, and there is always a steady drift of these out of Kurdistan
to Baghdad.

The rural element consists for the most part of settled villagers; the 162
nomads, once numerous, now form only a small proportion of the whole.
Though not all villagers are in fact tribesmen, the organization of society 631
outside the towns may be said, for all practical purposes, still to be essen- [643]
tially tribal, with groups of villages owing a kind of feudal allegiance to
a landlord, a Shaykh of one of the dervish fraternities, or a tribal Agha
who may have imposed himself on the village by force. With the pro- 178
gressive consolidation of the authority of the administration, and with
the spread of education, the villagers have not unnaturally begun to
refuse to submit to the impositions, sanctioned by ancient custom per-
haps but not enforceable at law, by which these barons, especially the
Aghas having no title to the land, were accustomed to maintain their
position. In many parts of the country the old social organization is break-
ing down.

II.

The south-western boundary of Iraqi Kurdistan runs for most of its 133
length across the plain. But immediately to the north-east of the line the
ground begins to rise, first as a maze of foothills, and then in a series of
long, parallel, limestone ridges running from south-east to north-west,
each loftier than the last, up to the main chain of Zagros, which over
much of its length marks the Persian frontier. In the extreme north-west
these ranges merge into the eastern extension of the Taurus system. On
the Persian frontier there are many peaks of over 10,000 feet. It follows [132]
that there is a great variety of climatic conditions. The country is trav-
ersed by three important affluents of the Tigris, the Great Zab from Tur-
key, and the Little Zab and the Sirwan (Diyala) from Persia.

A railway from Baghdad following closely the line of the old high 496
road through Kifri and Kikruk to Arbil serves Kurdistan south of the
Great Zab; the main line up the right bank of the Tigris links Mosul di-
rectly with Baghdad and, as already mentioned, skirts the Kurdish dis-
tricts of the extreme north-west. Most of the market towns are now 494
accessible by automobile. Transportation in the remoter highlands and 492
between villages is by mule and donkey; oxen are still used by the nomads
as beasts of burden.

Chapter I

Subsistence and kinship

SUBSISTENCE

461 Subsistence patterns of the settled population are essentially uniform over the whole South Kurdish area. A long day is spent by the farmer in food producing activities, in part because of primitive techniques, in part because labor is invariably expended in preference to capital.

243 Subsistence is based on cereal agriculture, combined with herding
233 (cf. Table I). With an average yearly rainfall of 400—800 mm.,
● 132 concentrated mainly in a rainy season during winter and spring, artificial irrigation is only necessary for special crops, such as rice and tobacco. — Wheat and barley are of approximately equal importance; tobacco, rice, cotton, peas, lentils, and garden patches of vegetables are subsidiary. Of these, cotton is a recent innovation, and typical only of the tenant villages with an active and interested landowner.

231 Among the domestic animals, sheep and goats are the important producers. Cattle are kept more for their use as work animals in plowing and threshing than for their products. Donkeys are used for all transportation, no wheeled vehicles are seen. The horse is primarily a prestige symbol, and has little economic use.

241 Productive techniques are generally underdeveloped. Agricultural methods are exceedingly simple, especially with regard to the basic

- 132 We have already seen that the Kurds
221 are essentially shepherds of the mountains.
In the latitude where they live—approximately that of Greece—winter at sea-level may be mild, while in the mountains it is harsh. The cool summer breezes and green meadows of the higher mountains turn to snow, avalanche, and the rigours of a highland winter. So to save his flocks the Kurdish shepherd long ago became nomadic, making annual treks to the warmer valleys in the lower hills to obtain winter grazing. The nomadic life, however, provides but a limited diet and the desire to supplement it by agriculture is a
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